WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST

No. 388. Official Organ of the Australasian Socialist Party. SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6th, 1917. Registered at the General Post Office, Sydney, for transmission by post as a Newspaper. Price: One Penny

Political Action.

De Leon on Samuel Gompers.

The following extracts are taken from the address delivered by Daniel de Leon from the floor of the First Convention of the organisation, now the Workers' International Industrial Union, on June 29, 1905:—

"I can imagine nothing more weak, more pitiable from a man's standpoint than to aspire at an ideal that is unreliable, and I have overhauled my position again and again answering this question: "Is this problem that you have undertaken as one of so many—is it a problem that is solvable?" And I have concluded that it is. I drew a line, and on the other side of that line I placed the fakir and those men who assume and who deny that the working class can emancipate themselves, and who consequently propose to follow their own interests to the best of their ability and opportunity.

When three years ago (1902) the miners' strike took place, it was, as far as I was concerned individually, an epoch in my existence. Before that I was certain that the emancipation of the working class could not come but through them. I was also certain that it was a possibility; but I did not know how far removed the land beyond them might lie. I knew that Columbus, upon strictly scientific ground said: "The world being round, if I travel westward I must strike land." But he knew not how long he would have to travel before he struck land. His scientific premises could not involve information also upon that subject, and as he travelled, you know the story, how the weak and the uninformed fell over him and called him names, and how he had to deceive them by telling them to keep on and keep on; and had land lain a few days further west, America would not have been discovered on the 12th of October, 1492. The question for me, the really important question, the question of immediate importance was, "How far west does the land lie? How far away is the day when the working class will not only have sufficient information not to be humbugged, but when their hearts will beat with that sound impulse under which they will dare stand upon their feet and claim that they as citizens of the twentieth century are entitled to all that they produce and not a single cent less? How far does that lie? And the coal miners' strike gave me information upon that question. When the strike was in progress for eight months, had this organisation, which we launch here, been in existence, the revolution would have been accomplished in 1903. The working man's pulse beat high. The class instinct was there; the revolutionary spirit was there; but the army of labor, like the Czar's army, which also consists of working men, was captained by the lieutenants of the capitalist class. We then called Mitchell a fakir, and I am glad that there are those to-day in this convention who found fault with me then, but who will agree with me to-day that he was one.

Out of this body, out of this convention, a new economic organisation or union will arise. . . . I hope and believe that this convention will bring together those who will plant themselves squarely upon the class struggle and will recognise **the fact that the political expression of labor is but the shadow of the economic (industrial) organisation.** I believe—I know—that he who will not vote right will do everything else wrong. But I also believe and I know that there is nothing more silly than Right without Might to back it up. And the ballot box, though it is a civilised method of discussion, though it is powerful in its way as a historic development, **that ballot is the weakest of things, is the hugest fraud on earth if it is not backed by the Might to enforce it.** Do our capitalist rulers proceed upon a different principle? Look at their law libraries. I do not believe that law books in those libraries are bound in calf and sheepskin by accident. How innocent those books look. The sheepskin in which they are bound is an emblem of innocence, of the weakness of the law without Might to enforce it. And they gather their Might in their own way; we gather it in our way; and **the Might of the revolutionary Socialist ballot consists in the thorough industrial organisation** of the productive workers, organised in such a way that when that ballot is cast the capitalist class may know that behind it is the Might to enforce it. I have myself stated again and again, in writing, and by word of mouth, that the capitalist class is the one that counts the ballots, and consequently it is absurd to expect that their election inspectors will count us in. . . . I recognise that, but no conclusion of importance can flow from one fact. All safe conclusions flow from a number of facts that have to be considered together. The capitalist class may monkey with the ballot all they like, but for the same reason that a man can monkey with a thermometer without ever changing the temperature, a handful of capitalists may do their ballot monkeying, but they cannot change the political temperature. You can put a piece of ice to the quicksilver in a thermometer, and that quicksilver will sink below zero, will sink to a Dakotan coldness; but that does not change the temperature. You may in winter put a burning coal to the quicksilver and raise it to summer heat, but that does not make it summer. The capitalist may count us out. He may lower this thermometer of the ballot, but he cannot change the temperature. His election inspectors will tell him how the situation stands, he will know how that vote is; he will know the makeup and all of it; he will understand the nature of our organisation. . . . (Mr. De Leon went on to explain the difference between the American capitalist class and the European capitalist class, which is feudal, and with all its vices, it has developed one virtue, and that is bravery). . . On the other hand, do we find that spirit in the rulers of America? Have our rulers been brought up in the cradle of feudalism? Have they reached their position through any act of bravery? Have songs of bravery been the songs that rocked their cradles? No; they came to their position of rulers by putting sand into your sugar, by putting water into your molasses, by putting shoddy into your clothes, by fraudulent failures, by fraudulent fires. In other words, they have reached their position through fraud, through swindle. Now, the swindler is a coward. Being a coward, the swindler will swagger like a bully when the adversary is weak. What do we see the capitalist class do in America to-day? It has one set of working men in one body, and with the other it is clubbing them, shooting them down with Gatling guns. It is simply a result, not of any bravery in the capitalist class, but of the weak condition of the Giant Labor, which lies fettered by the lieutenants of capitalism. (The Labor fakirs.) When the capitalist class finds out what is going on in our organisation, when it finds that we are well organised, when its lieutenants and its inspectors report to it the actual vote that you will cast, however, little they may register in the official returns, when they report the facts, the capitalist ruler I believe will not dare to fight; the capitalist class will tremble in his stolen boots and be grateful to be given a chance to earn a honest living. But they will never yield unless they realise that behind that ballot lies an organised movement, well organised, well disciplined, and entirely awakened to the present condition: namely, with the industrial trades all in one organisation, so that one working man will not scab it upon another. . . When the capitalists know that their labor lieutenants can no longer protect them, the latter will find that their occupation like Othello's, will be gone; the capitalists will realise that there is MIGHT behind the RIGHT of the ballot, and they will bow to the truth. But should they be stupid enough not to bow we will then be ready and able to take up the conflict. (Mr. De Leon then stated the position of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, a precursor of the organisation now known as the Workers' International Industrial Union, and this position of the S.T. and L.A. is also the position of the W.I.I.U., so it is quoted in full.) And on this point—and that is the significant position of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. If I were to be asked: What difference would you point out, more basic than any other, between the S.T. and L.A. and any other of the numerous economic organisations that are started with good purposes? I should say this: That the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance stated what it was there for, and stated it frankly. It has proceeded upon the principle that you cannot conceal your purpose from the enemy. The enemy's instincts will tell them what you are after, whether you hide it or not. But if you hide your policy, if you hide your aims, if you conceal what you mean to do, then, while you cannot deceive the enemy, he will be as strongly against you as if you stated clearly what you wanted, you will deprive yourself of the support of the organisations that would stand behind you if they knew what you wanted. The S.T. and L.A. was the first labor organisation in this country (U.S.A.) since the early labor organisations who also began soundly, that frankly and fully stated to the working class that they had to capture the public powers. Their belief is this: That you could not first take the men into the union under the false pretence that you were going to raise their wages, and afterwards indoctrinate them. No, you had to indoctrinate them first, and then bring them in. . . .

But I must close. I agree with Brother Debs that this is not the occasion for speechmaking, and that we have an arduous task to perform. . . and I wish here solemnly to state that whoever stands frankly and openly with his face turned against the capitalist class, whoever stands in such a way that his associates are not different from his purpose, whoever breaks with the foe and puts himself, to use a populistic expression, "in the middle of the road," that man will find nothing but fraternal greeting from me as an individual, and from the organisation which I represent here, and which I hope will vanish the same as the A.L.U. and other mixed organisations will vanish when this convention adjourns. (The first convention of the original I.W.W., now the W.I.I.U.)

I wish to close with what I began with, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, the same as the Socialist Labor Party, has but one ideal. The ideal is the overthrow of the capitalist class. We recognise that men may have made mistakes. We know we make them ourselves, and we are going, just as soon as the mistakes are rectified, to turn a new leaf and look at the future rather than at the past. The men of the S.T. and L.A. stand upon the elevation of nineteen centuries of civilisation. We stand upon the enlightened interest of the individual. We know that our sons and daughters must marry other men's sons and daughters. We want the future improvement for our descendants, and he who wants to improve the conditions of his own sons and daughters must perforce want improved conditions for the sons and daughters of all other people. Consequently we realise the necessity of a united work. We realise the necessity of a united organised movement of the working class, and with our eyes steady upon that goal we have fought in the past and will be found fighting in the future. Ten years ago Mr. Gompers (president of the American Federation of Labor), said: "I know the S.L.P. men. I know what they are aiming at, but when that day comes they will find me with a gun to fight them." And my answer was then in "The People," as it is now on the floor of this convention: "Yes, Gompers; we know that we shall find you there, unmasked, but you will not on that day find the S.L.P. men a small body; you will find the American working class arrayed against you—against you along with the rest of the capitalist class, whom you in fact represent."

(Gompers is the same man to-day as in 1895, as witness his attitude in favor of the present war and conscription, both military and industrial.)

The Rights of Man.

The rights of man are a bye-word, the bones
are not yet dust
Of those who broke the shackles, and the
shackles are not yet rust;
Till the masters are forging new ones, and
coward lips are sealed,
While the code that cost a million lives is step
by step repealed.

The wily world-enchantress is working her
cursed charm,
The spell of the hypnotisers is taming us heart
and arm;
The wrong dissolves in a cloud-bank of
"whether" and "if" and "yet,"
And the subtleties of logic hinder the ready
will.

The bitter lesson of patience I have practised
for these years,
Can it be what he prays? for sensation was
prompted by my fear?
Can I doubt he—earth in my otherwise, if
such a choice I must have
Between being wise and slave, or being
foolish and brave?

Whenever the weak and weary are taken down
by the strong,
Whenever the voice of honor is drowned by
the howling throng,
Whenever the right pleads chief—for the
lords of life are drunk,
The time of forbearance are over and the
time to strike has come.

W. T. BROWN.

ESSAY COMPETITION.

We have decided to give two prizes for the best two essays on two set subjects. The prize winners will have the choice of a book from the list that will be submitted to them.

The two subjects will be published in the first issue of each month, and the M.S.S. must reach this office before the end of the month.

The essays are to consist of not more than one thousand words.

Write clearly in ink and leave plenty of room for editing.

Head essay with "Essay Competition," followed by the subject.

The essays will be judged: 1st, according to matter; 2nd, on general structure. We are endeavouring to find thinkers, not grammarians.

The subjects for this month are:—
(1) POVERTY.
(2) HOW ARE THE WORKING CLASS EXPLOITED?

THE MITCHELL LIBRARY
10 OCT. 1917

National Library of Australia http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page12248395

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AUSTRALASIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Australia, 4/- per year; 1/- per quarter. Postage added to other countries.

ORDERS FOR PAPERS to be sent to the Press Committee, 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney.

MATTER FOR PUBLICATION.

All articles and matter for publication must be addressed to the "Press Committee" and accompanied by the name and address of the writer (not necessarily for publication).

Write on one side of the paper only, and be sure to write in ink.

Rejected manuscript will be returned if stamps are enclosed for that purpose.

WHEN YOUR SUBSCRIPTION IS DUE.

Every subscriber will be notified by circular when his subscription runs out. The number of the last issue to be posted will be indicated.

Mobs and Fur Coats.

By JAYEM.

During recent window smashing campaigns in Melbourne, the Capitalist press frequently mentioned women in the "mob," who wore expensive fur coats. These much desired feminine garments were, as a matter of fact, conspicuous by their absence, on the particular occasions referred to.

Of English women munition workers, the Capitalist press has told the same story. Of women and girls spending astonishingly high wages in furs, diamonds, pianos, and other luxuries, which usually the wage slaves produce for profit of the master class, but do not own themselves.

A column of the true aspect of work and conditions, including speeding up, in the British munition factory, is printed in a conservative paper in Victoria. The writer is not a wage slave either, but daughter of the bourgeois official, and one of those patriotic women who left Australia to do her bit to help the Empire, in its hour of need. Her knowledge is first hand, and she tells a painful story.

She describes the cold country in the depths of winter, and the journeying to their work through thick snow and dark streets, of women who went to night work at 6 p.m., and remained for twelve hours.

"The buzzer sounded, and the mob of day workers, crushed into darkness after 12 hours in the factory, and many of them still had to face a journey of an hour or an hour and a half before they arrived home. This mob was certainly not characterised by over evidence of fur coats, and the women of the mob which had just gone in were distinguished only by a uniform dressing of blue overalls, of coat-like shape, fastened at the waist with belts, and of blue caps, which entirely covered the hair."

The work-shops were great galvanised iron structures, thrown together hurriedly and "responsive to every variation in outside temperature, and which defy all efforts to heat them in the cold of winter."

Those people who ask, "Will Socialism not break up the home, and destroy all individuality?" will be interested to hear that the British munition workers in this particular factory are, many of them, employed as "rippers." The process of ripping is described, and the labor of one particular woman. "The laborers (women) have piled on to a bogie, fire forgings, and pulled and pushed this bogie to the gantry of the machines, on which F. works. Each forging weighs, about 140 lbs., and it is F's work to rip, cut off, or part off, from the rough forging, the excess length of each shell as it is hauled into position by another laborer.

This particular wage-slave, a little woman of 40 (whose husband and eldest boy of six had both died of pneumonia, the result of a hard winter, and who had three others to keep), handled from 90 to 100 shells a day (as described). "That means five to six tons of material to be handled twice in a shift of twelve hours. There is no sitting patiently, waiting, while the machine does the cutting. Wandering attention means cessation of wages, for these women are working on piece rates, and as this women, F., said, when speaking of her three young children, "It will take a lot of shells to get enough bread for them."

This is no fancy picture. The writer of the article says, "It was all true. I have F's records to look up, if I doubt, but there is no doubting, when, for six nights a week a woman rips nearly 100 shells a night, just while the clock goes round."

"I shall even dare to give you the highest wage she has ever obtained, and she is the crack ripper. Three pounds on piece rates is the maximum for a week, but her minimum is down to 25s.

Besides working 12 hours a day, the same munition workers add from one to three hours going to and from their "homes." Many of these women cook, wash, clean their houses, and have children to care for. The washing of greasy overalls and caps occupy time besides. "The wages may be high—some women are better paid than those on ripping, and quick workers on a well-paid operation can earn considerable sums. Still, food is not cheap nowadays.

"I tell you this little account," concludes the writer, "to let you judge whether there is really a general fur coat—emblem of luxury—for the munition worker, and if there is, whether or not it has a silk lining."

The Dawn of Capitalism.

Inventors anb Brain Leeches'

By C. F. C.

At the present time we live under what is known as the Capitalist System. Capitalism is the system by which the means of production, the mills, mines, fields, factories—now called Capital—are operated for profit. Capitalism then in a nutshell is the system of Production for Profit, as against the nearly-due Socialist System of Production for Use.

Modern capitalism first developed in England between 1770—1800. It was made possible by a series of great inventions which produced a **complete change or Revolution** in the methods of wealth production—a change known in history as the Industrial Revolution.

With the nature of this change and the treatment accorded two of the inventors whose inventions were responsible for the inaguration of Capitalism, this article proposes to deal. To get some idea of the value of their work to the Capitalist section of Society, let us glance at the position of the England of their day.

Prior to 1770 the modern factory and furnace were almost unknown. The tools used in the cloth, coal, iron, pottery and agricultural industries were of the simplest. The cloth trade was the main manufacturing industry, and this like most others, was carried on in the workers' homes. Under this system of wealth production known as the Domestic System of Manufacture the workers, besides working in their own homes owned the tools they operated. Unlike the modern wageworker they were not entirely engaged in the manufacturing industries, for owning, as each did, the plot of land attached to his house manufacturing was combined with agricultural work. Owing to this diffusion of work too, there existed no reason for the present centralisation of population into bloated cities. Specialisation in industry was unknown, for the worker had not yet reached the dignity of a capitalist's factory-"hand."

The change from the Domestic System to the modern Capitalist System was sudden and violent. Five great inventions in a space of about 15 years revolutionised industrial England.

The year 1770 saw the first of these in James Hargreaves "spinning jenny." Next year saw Arkwright's patent spinning machine, "the water frame." In 1779 Samuel Crompton embodied the ideas of both in his machine known as the "mule." These spinning machines abolished the hand-spinner. Hand-weaving received the death-knock when 1785 arrived with Dr. Cartwright's "power-loom" and finally when James Watt the same year introduced steam-power into factories the old domestic form of industry took the count.

Thus was the modern Factory System installed. Thus was every semblance of economic independence swept from the workers, BECAUSE they were divorced from the ownership of the tools they operated. From now on they were wage-workers; from now on the cloth they wove or the wealth they produced was not their property; from now on they were dependent on the capitalist mill-owner or mine-owner. For them a life of toil (on bare subsistence wages) when they were allowed to toil, for them ever fierce and fiercer competition in the Labor Market as labor-displacing (NOT labor-saving) machinery threw out handworker after handworker and factory "hand" after factory "hand." For them, starvation at home in the midst of Plenty BECAUSE of that Plenty, or wounds and death abroad in the wars which that Plenty brought about. Says Gibbins in his "Industrial History of England":—"The world famous wars in which England was engaged at the close of the last century and up to 1815, were necessitated by England's endeavour to gain the commercial supremacy of the world, after she had invented the means of supplying the world's markets to overflowing. Economic causes were at the root of them all." So to this day. The serious poverty distress and unemployment in which Capitalism inflicted on the workers caused the riots in which they, misguidedly, attempted to smash the labor-displacing machines—the machines without which the working class could never be emancipated. So much for the workers' fate under the new industrial Capitalism.

What of the capitalists? For them Paradise in the shape of Profits. For them no interfering child labor laws to guard against the exploitation of children of six years and upward; no factory laws; no trade unions. These last were banned by the conspiracy laws. This era of "Free Competition" is the most ghastly in the annals of industrial history. Hear Gibbins:—"The children (collected by the trafficker) were simply at the mercy of their owners nominally as apprentices, but in reality as were slaves, who got no wages, and whom it was not worth while even to feed or clothe properly because they were so cheap that their places could be so easily supplied. It was often arranged by the parish authorities that one idiot should be taken by the mill-owner with every twenty sane children. . . Their treatment was most inhuman. . . Children were often worked **sixteen hours a day**, by day and by night. . . The spectacle of England buying the freedom of black slaves by riches drawn from the labor of her white ones, affords an interesting study for the cynical philosopher." During this time, too the continent was mainly a shambles. There was no competition from that quarter.

The English capitalists could not thus help roll in riches, and the consequent growth of large accumulations of capital in the hands of the manufacturers enabled them to successfully challenge the power of the old "landed aristocracy." This is what the Factory System did for the capitalists.

We had nearly forgotten to mention the result of the introduction of the Factory System to the men whose inventions led to that Industrial Revolution. Was their "ability fostered"? Surely they received huge sums from the rich manufacturers who installed their machines in the slave factories? Surely Watt and Arkwright died millionaires! Not at all! Take Crompton and Hargreaves, for instance.

James Hargreaves made two notable inventions. He invented a carding machine as a substitute for the hand cards formerly used in combing out cotton. In 1760 he invented his famous "spinning jenny" by which he was able to spin with many spindles at once. This, even in its initial stage, could perform eight times the work of a handspinner. Owing to riots he had to erect his spinning mill away from his district. Here, however, he reaped scarcely any more benefit than he had in his native place. Two years afterwards, he patented his invention, but found to his dismay that Lancashire manufacturers had "leeched" his ideas, and were using his machine. He sued them for £7000 damages. Pending the trial he was offered £3000 for the use of his machine, but he refused the offer. He evidently didn't understand the ways of justice. The manufacturers did. It having been proved that he had sold some of his machines before the patent was obtained **his patent was declared invalid**, and his claim for compensation fell to the ground. Thus did Capitalism "supply the incentive." Hargreaves' further efforts met with only moderate success.

And Samuel Crompton? He it was who invented the "spinning mule." He had spent every farthing he had in the world upon its completion. He was so poor that he could not patent his invention. The neighbouring rich spinners tried all kinds of tricks to learn his secret. He was spied upon, and his life was made miserable by the attempts to rob him of the just fruits of his labor. Shy and businesslike as he was, he, too, was "caught." A Bolton manufacturer persuaded him to disclose his invention to certain manufacturers on condition that they should provide him with a liberal subscription. These put down their names for certain sums to be paid to Crompon, but after they had "**leeched**" **his ideas they laughed at him**, and made similar machines. All he got was £67. With this he built another spinning machine, but as soon as he had instructed new "hands" these were enticed away to neighbouring mills. He failed. When he was nearly 60, Parliament voted him a sum of £5000 to start another business, but, soured and broken, he again failed, and died in poverty.

So did the capitalist brain-leeches reward ability. So do they reward it today. For when "brains" meet "cunning," cunning mostly wins.

AS TO UNITY, DEBATE.

The debate on the question of unity, which was postponed owing to the strike will be held in the Socialist Hall, 369 Pitt street, NEXT MONDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 8th, at 8p.m.

E. Judd will represent the S.L.P., and A. S. Reardon the A.S.P. Both speakers will have an half hour to state their case, and a quarter of an hour to reply at the conclusion of which members of either party will be given the opportunity to ask questions.

ALL MEMBERS SHOULD ATTEND.

OBITUARY.

COMRADE WEGNER.

The Socialist Movement has from time to time attracted many sterling fighters to its ranks. Men and women who caring nothing for the abuse, vilification and victimisation that are the lot of those who take up the task of educating and organising the workers for emancipation, still keep their ideals clearly before them and their principles intact. Such a man was Comrade Wegner, who was buried on Thursday last, the 27th September. Our comrade was born in Germany fifty-five years ago, but the Socialist movement is International. We are not concerned with a man's birthplace. Over that matter no man has control. What we are concerned about is, the class to which a man belongs. And because Comrade Wegner was a member of the working class and had sufficient intelligence to realise that his interests were opposed to the interests of the master-class of all countries, he was a welcome addition to our ranks.

For many years he was the Treasurer of Sydney Branch and at the last election of officers he was elected unopposed to the position of Treasurer of the Party. This is sufficient evidence of the regard and trust that the members generally placed in him, and it will remain always as a monument to his sterling integrity and honesty.

At the funeral the Sydney branch was represented by Com. Mrs. Reardon, the Press Committee by Com. Ray Everitt, and the Central Executive by the General Sec., Com. A. S. Reardon. The International Socialist Club was represented by between 40 and 50 members. The service was conducted by Com. H. Dierkes (the Secretary of the I. S. Club), who made a short and appropriate address, at the conclusion of which all present joined in singing the last verse of the "Red Flag."

On the hill-side fronting the sea at Bronte, our Comrade sleeps. Our old Mother Earth has taken him back to her breast. She in the end is kind to all men. Hail! and farewell!!

National Library of Australia http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page12248396

Wage Slavery.

By J. M. G.

The wage system of to-day, under which the workers have to sell their labor power to the possessing class for a mere subsistence, money wage, is more degrading than chattel slavery or serfdom.

Under chattel slavery, the laborers were the commodity, they were held openly, without any disguise, as belonging body and soul to their masters, and all the product of their labor was the property of the slave owners; in return they were assured of food, clothing and shelter. Under the wage system the laborers are compelled to sell their labor power to the capitalist class, "the masters of bread." They are as much in the power of the capitalist class to-day as were the chattel slaves. They are forced by the fear of hunger to accept conditions of labor that are more degrading physically and mentally than any form of chattel slavery.

The environment created by modern capitalism has hypnotised them into the belief that they are free men. They think so, because they are able to leave their present employment (they cannot do so in England to-day) overlooking the fact that to leave they must find another kind of boss willing to employ them failing which they are faced with hunger in a society overflowing with everything necessary to satisfy the physical requirements of life.

Our boasted ideal, civilisation, lauded by the possessing class as the freest form of society that has yet existed, is, when analysed, nothing but a form of slavery from top to bottom; glossed over with the sham mockery of political freedom to the individual; and clothed with the tinsel of a mock splendour, degrading to all sections of the community with a form of culture supposed to be of the highest quality, reserved for the few and denied to the many—a form of society that compels the many to sell themselves as slaves to the possessing, the capitalist class, for a money wage.

"Freedom": No! Nothing but slaves, treated worse than beasts of burden, who at least are assured of food and shelter, which is denied to the workers. A state of slavery this unheard of in any former phase of society. In all other forms of slavery in historic periods, the slaves' complaint was of compulsory work. But the so-called modern free men are the economic slaves of a system under which they are denied access to the tools of production, and thus condemned to compulsory starvation, unless they accept work on the terms laid down by the capitalist class, the possessors of these tools. The lash of hunger compels them to accept the conditions laid down by this class, no matter how brutal and degrading.

Slavery is not yet abolished. Slaves are cheaper now and do more work than at any former period in the world's history. Under chattel slavery there was no reserve army of unemployed. The master class could not afford a reserve of labor, which they would have had to feed. It was left to modern capitalism to improve on the old system of property in human beings. The wage slave owner has discovered that it is more economical to give human beings a semblance of liberty, thus divesting themselves of any responsibility of feeding and clothing their slaves, whilst they retain possession of everything essential to the production of the necessaries of life. The modern revolution of industry gives to the present day capitalist without expense this reserve army, which is always ready to work at a low rate of wage, and is therefore a standing menace to those in employment, keeping them in subjection and subservient to the master class.

The degrading conditions controlling the workers of to-day will remain so just as long as they are content to sell as a commodity their labor power, in competition with one another; so long as they are content to do so they have no title to boast of their freedom. They are not freemen, but slaves to the master class, from morning to night.

There can be no freedom or liberty for the workers so long as the capitalist system with its wage slavery remains. The same principle of subjection that enslaved the laborers under chattel slavery exists to-day, and rules our present form of society. The slave owners possessed the right of life and death over their slaves, there was no disguise as to their power. The modern capitalists possess the same power, but it is glossed over, the chains that bind the workers to the systems are gilded, and made so glittering that the mass of the workers are unconscious of their slavery.

Many of the workers in all countries are beginning to have a glimpse of the immorality of the present system; they are beginning to become conscious of the enslaving conditions, and are organising along lines of taking control of the economic force, the basis of and the controlling factor of society. They are discarding their many misleaders, and are acting consciously on their own initiation. The so-called intellectuals are making strenuous efforts to become their leaders, to lead them into the morass of reform, frantically trying to conserve to themselves the class distinction of being in a higher social strata than the manual workers. These people, blind to the economic forces of society, are a danger the workers must guard against. The workers must lead themselves. To them belongs the future. Theirs is the mission of revolutionising society. To them will be given the honor of destroying this degrading phase of civilisation with its class antagonisms, of abolishing all forms of human exploitation, and establishing the Co-operative Commonwealth.

—"The International," South Africa.

Lessons in Economics.

By A Student.

No. 10.

CAPITAL TO-DAY.

In the last lesson mention was made of the coming economic war, after this European war is ended.

From now on full use will be made of Herman Cahn's contribution to the literature of Marxian economics, "Capital To-Day," together with later information from the daily press and other sources.

Cahn states that "International trade, just as international banking, continues in the hands of firms."

Such has been the astounding changes wrought in three-quarters of a century. In England, the classic land of capitalism, the limitation of the liability of stockholders to the amount of their stock was not enacted into law until 1855. If capitalist society during the first two centuries after its sprouting, moved forward at a rate never before seen, its gaits was greatly accelerated by the mechanical inventions, and the rise of steam power, but since the advent of the railroads and great corporations it is travelling in seven league boots.

"What means this victory of the corporation which has taken place under the eyes of our old men?

"Generally this question is discussed from the ordinary subjective viewpoint of bourgeois philosophy; it would be too much to expect professors and journalists to approach the ticklish subject with an objective scientific mind. Are corporations good or bad? Or are the smaller ones tolerable and the larger ones bad? What is the line of demarcation between the two? Are they the work of profits or evil-minded selfish men? Should competition be preserved? If so, and since competition has not a robust constitution and is visibly growing feebler, were it better to prescribe a diet of pap to keep it on its legs, or administer an alcoholic stimulus?"

Such practically was the discussion on Trusts and Monopolies, each time a referendum was taken on the subject in Australia. Should trusts be nationalised so that small business could be spoon-fed? Or should trusts and monopolies be ousted altogether? Protectionists hold that "infant" industries must be protected. Let customs, tariffs, and State subsidies, such as the sugar bonus, make the very conditions for the rise of trusts and new "infant" industries squeal.

Freetraders on the other hand, tell us that competition is the life of trade, and must at all costs be given full scope. If an industry cannot survive competition, let it go under, says the freetrader; or, to use George Reid's illustration of the dry dog: let it be thrown into the sea of competition, and if it cannot swim let it drown. Yet this condition also only makes for the rise of trusts in other countries.

The subject of industrial competition is one, that henceforth that question is to recognise or not to recognise, in the trend of capitalistic society, that necessity inherent in the very laws of competition, which stands over and above our likes or dislikes, and our subjective assent.

Such philosophic discussion as is indulged in by journalists and others cuts no ice. "For example, a modern political economist, Pro. Jevons, says in the concluding chapter of 'The State in Relation to Labor': The subject is one in which we need, above all things—discrimination. Restrictions on industry are not good nor bad, per se, but according as they are imposed wisely and with good intentions, or foolishly and with sinister intentions." And who is to decide whether particular propositions are good or bad, and pass judgment on intentions? Prof. Jevons gives this answer: "We must agree to differ; and though we are bound to argue fearlessly it should be with the consciousness that there is room for wide and bona-fide difference of opinion." Bah! As you were, you are! By all means, let us agree to differ, and let us have great argumentations, fearless of their basis, therefore mutually forbearing and always good-natured, like a literary and debating society!

Such discussion, however, brings us no nearer to an understanding of this evolution, and again we must ask, what means this victory of the corporation?

Adam Smith said that "people of the same trade seldom meet together, even for merriment and diversion, but the conversation ends in a conspiracy against the public or in some contrivance to raise prices." Mr. Hobson does not quote the statement, but he says very much the same on his own account. "The industrial combination," he observes, "is usually directed, not merely to price lists, but to that regulation of output which is essential to a control of prices. The essential feature of the cartels or syndicates which are so conspicuous in the recent capitalism of Germany is the agreement as to quantities and proportions of supplies to be put upon the market. An interesting development of recent German experience has been the establishment of sales associations, whereby the members of the syndicate forms a joint stock company, which takes from the members their agreed product or output at an arranged price, and sells it at a price determined by the executive in accordance with the state of trade and of outside competition."

The meaning of this victory of the trust and corporation is that we are well on the way to the ultimate goal of the present centralising tendencies, namely, to a capitalist oligarchy.

Empire builders, in the persons of politicians, newspaper editors, and professors of economics, say that in the interests of the Empire, "the wide question will open up of the relation of the government, not only towards the whole ship-building and engineering businesses which, for the duration of the war, have been 'controlled firms.' Not only commercial, but grave political considerations will enter here. Can these private firms be allowed once more to begin supplying ships, guns and ammunition to foreign nations as before? Can they be allowed to enter into business arrangements with foreign firms and to set up branches in foreign lands? Must they not be kept under such control as will secure their productive services exclusively for the requirements of this country. If so, must not the regulation of the prices of the goods they sell be accompanied by security against strikes or lockouts and other labor troubles. Various half-way houses between complete nationalisation and private industry will probably be sought." Yes, and also as certainly fail.

Capitalism does not study the wishes of these theoretical gentlemen. In contradiction of the statement quoted in our last lesson, viz., "the war, it is predicted, will set back the tide of economic internationalism, etc.," the following facts clearly show that the "tide of economic internationalism" is rapidly being forced to high flood mark by the reason that an absolute military victory by the Allies is very uncertain, hence the conflict will shift over to the economic and industrial sphere.

Another Anglo-Italian banking scheme has been adopted in order to supplant German economic influence, which before the war had secured a dominating position in Northern Italy. The London and South-Western Bank has arranged to act as clearing agents in London for the Banca Italiana Disconto, and the latter is to be the sole representative of the English bank in Italy. The Banca Italiana Disconto is stated to be the third largest bank in Italy. It was formed in 1915 to amalgamate the Societa Bancaroi Italiano and the Societo Italiano di Credito Provinciale. It has a paid up capital of £2,661,582, and deposits amounting to about £4,800,000. Important post war operations are contemplated under this arrangement for the purpose of stimulating Anglo-Italian commerce.

During 1915, the first complete year of the war, Canadian investments in Canadian loans increased considerably, as did also those of the United States, whilst United Kingdom investments declined. Down to 1911 the investments of United States capital in the Dominion was practically negligible, whereas prior to the commencement of the international conflict Great Britain supplied 75 per cent. of the total required for developmental purposes. On 1915 there was a still further gain in the amount of the funds found by lenders in the United States, but those obtained from Great Britain fell away practically to nil. Investors in England appear to have made little or no effort during the years 1909 to 1914, when they were investing hundreds of millions of dollars in Canadian enterprises, to strengthen their economic position by making it obligatory for Canadian borrowers to obtain their goods from the United Kingdom. On the other hand, the methods adopted by the bankers of the United States seem to render it more or less part of the contract that Canadian borrowers should obtain requisite commodities through the agency of American lenders, and it is fairly certain that these methods will be extended and strengthened in the future. So long as the United Kingdom is not in a position to make further advances, and the United States remains the only source of the vast amount of capital which Canada requires for the exploitation of its resources, the difficulties of obtaining a market in Canada for British manufactures will continue to increase.

The United States, like Germany, has evolved a high degree of identity of banking and industrial capital. British interests are not so closely knitted together, hence we see why "the difficulties of obtaining a market in Canada for British manufactures will continue to increase."

The American International Corporation was organised with a preliminary capital of 50,000,000 dollars soon after the outbreak of the European war for the purpose of fostering American interests abroad.

In the issue of the "Age" of January 16th, this year, appeared a cablegram reporting the organising of a gigantic banking concern for developing the commercial interests of German and Austro-Hungarian capitalists, and it was stated that £50,000,000 had been subscribed. A further message appeared in the "Herald" of July 19th, as follows:—London July 18th.—According to the "Vossiche Zeitung," the German shipping reconstruction subsidies will amount to £75,000,000.

Enough has been said in this lesson to show that the coming economic war is to be a terrific one. Workers, you are to be exploited in the future as you never were in the past. The need is imperative for you to look to your industrial organisations and bring them into line to meet the coming conditions. As capital is trustified into international corporations, so must also Labor organise its forces into One Great Union of workers of the world over, and cease to be the pawns in the game of finance, and mere mechanical cogs in the machine of industry.

(To be continued).

REVOLT.

Hail, spirit of revolt, thou spirit of life,
Child of the ideal, daughter of the far-away truth!
Without thee the nations drag on in a living death;
Without thee is stagnation and arrested growth;
Without thee Europe and America would be sunk in China's lethargy,
Smothered in the past, having no horizon but the actual.
Hail, spirit of revolt, thou spirit of life, child of eternal love—
Love rebelling against loveless ness, life rebelling against death!
Rise at last to the full measure of thy birth right;
Spern the puny weapons of hate and oppression;

Fix rather thy calm, burning, protesting eyes on all the myriad shams of man, and they will fade away in thinnest air;
Gaze upon thy gainsayers until they see and feel the truth and love that begat and bore thee.
Thus and thus only give form and body to thy noblest aspirations.
And we shall see done on earth as it is in heaven,
God's ever-living, growing, ripening will

ERNEST CROSBY

A SONG OF REVOLT

By J. W. ROCHE.

Come, let us raise rebel songs,
In spite of sword and throne;
Ten thousand thousand are our tongues,
But let our aim be one.

Workers are worthy to receive,
All wealth from field and mine;
No spoiler has the right to live,
And rob by law divine.

Let all the workers join in one
Each heart with zeal inflame,
To raise the crimson flag on high,
And strike in Freedom's name

Law Courts, Judges, and Crime.

By WOODICUS.

In Melbourne, on a recent day, three policemen stood on trial for stealing meat and groceries. The following is the judge's comment on the cases:

His Honor said accused had basely betrayed a special trust that had been placed in them. Instead of protecting the goods of citizens they had stolen those goods themselves. It would be a burlesque of the intentions of the Legislature if the court were to treat such persons as first offenders. Somewhat severe sentences must be imposed, as a warning to others. Dunse, as the greatest offender, was sentenced to four years' imprisonment; and the other two accused to eighteen months' imprisonment each.—"Age."

The constables stole because they were in need of the goods. The sentences are to be a warning to others. A warning of what? A warning to people that they must not eat or wear clothes! The audacity of people cultivating the luxury of an appetite. When your clothes wear thin, and the contents of the pay envelope does not keep you going, you must simply starve; such is the mandate of the learned judge. Such wisdom is in keeping with the clownish wig and gown, the theatrical pomp of the law court, the assinine cumbersome wording of the law. Imagine a man refusing to steal when his wife and kiddies are in need. Imagine a judge trying to look dignified and uttering such words as this judge uttered. Imagine the dignity of a donkey, especially when he brays.

Possibly the judge knew better than the utterance he gave vent. He knew that the policemen were forced by circumstances to act as they did act. But the capitalist system does not buy a judge to express humane opinions, and uphold the cause of the weak; capitalism exists only for the strong and the ruthless. It would be detrimental to capitalism for any judge even though he has humane feelings, to form his judgment according to his conscience. Law is not based upon fellow-feeling; there is nothing natural, humane, or scientific in the principle, the making, or administration of law; it is but organised might utilised for the preservation of capitalism. An average judge is a mere automatum of flesh and blood, well fed, clothed, and pampered in exchange for acting the function of a machine. No Judge is paid to be just; his duty is to keep people in submission; to rivet them firmly down, and so perpetuate the existence of capitalism. A Judge is paid by his masters to carry out a brutal duty, and he does his duty well.

The Legislature must not be burlesqued, because the people may laugh, and pass from laughing to ridicule, from ridicule to scorn, and eventually dispose of Legislature, by substituting social administration, based upon reason and pity, together with the needs of common human beings.

People must hold a deep veneration for the relentless purpose of the Legislature, because the Legislature is the "King Pin" of capitalism. Abolish the Legislation, and capitalism falls asunder: class rule would be abolished.

Capitalism does not pay the majority of its protectors well, or even decently; it gets these as it gets all commodities, raw material, machinery, or men: as cheap as possible; looks upon them cheaply, and cheaply disposes of them when they fail in their master's service.

Judges have been sentencing men to jail for centuries as a warning to others, but the warning is unheeded which proves that judges and jails are not effective preventatives of crime.

The sentencing of men as a warning to others is equivalent to the whims of children; such as throwing a horse shoe over the left shoulder to insure good fortune, or the practice of ignorant people who wear religious tokens to keep away the devil and prevent disease.

The three constables have been sent to jail, where circumstances may yet compel you and I to go, manacled, and caged as beasts, with men dogging our steps, watching our every action. These men are to be entombed for years, solely through you and I being fools, who feed, pamper, and worship a system of society that is but a vulture devouring the lives of men.

Let us to it with the axe of common sense. Rip out the cancer of capitalism with the surgical knife of industrial unionism.

Industrial unionism is a cure for crime, because an abundance of food, clothing and shelter will be assured for all by industrial unionism.

Industrial unionism shall ring down the curtain upon the monstrous farce called justice, turn judges to useful occupations, law courts into seminaries occupied by people who will reason and think for the elevation of mankind, instead of degrading them as under capitalism.

Work, organise, and fight for industrial unionism.

Industrial unionism means economic liberty; and economic liberty is Socialism.

Recruiting the Unemployed Army

By P. Drew.

It is, without question, absolutely necessary that the Socialist, young or old, have more than a passing knowledge of the origin and development of the capitalist system, and during his studies and enquiries into the history of capitalism, he will find that not the least interesting phase of its development is the invention of different kinds of machines, designed and manufactured with the sole view of eliminating, as far as possible, the human factor in production, and one of the most familiar and interesting is the oil motor.

When this particular machine first began to come into common use, there were rather more than a few prophets, who predicted the complete disappearance of the horse drawn vehicle within a very short space of time, and some museums in different European capitals actually began to buy some of the less common types of vehicles such as hansom cabs, and place them within their walls as future relics of a bygone age; but after a quarter of a century we find the horse-drawn vehicle as ubiquitous as ever, and naturally, one asks why?

The answer to the question is not so difficult to find, after all, and resolves itself into an economic question, such as bad roads, mechanical shortcoming, and last, but not least, the question of labor possessing the necessary amount of skill to control and to effect minor repairs to the machine when needed. In addition to this, the owners of large numbers of horse-drawn vehicles found themselves in the rather paradoxical position of being forced to put up with old cumbersome methods of transportation when it was possible at comparatively reasonable expense, to purchase the commercial motor, and having, at the same time, to put up with the competition of new carrying concerns, who were able to purchase the new machine at the outset, and so reduce the general cost of transportation by road.

In short, they found themselves in the position of the English railway companies when the Brennan mono-rail was brought under their notice, absolutely unable to afford the change, just as in Australia expense is the chief obstacle to the unification, per medium of a common gauge, of the various railway systems. The problem has now been solved, in a satisfactory manner, by the invention of a self-contained power unit called the "gasolene horse," and described in the "Scientific American" of 7/21/'17.

Briefly described, the machine consists of a frame carrying an engine geared to an axle furnished with the conventional rubber tyred wheel and a drawbar projecting at the rear for attaching to any waggon pole or shaft, and is capable, under ordinary conditions, of hauling 15 tons, but the most interesting part of the whole concern is the method of control, it being so simple that any teamster can, after a few minutes' instructions, immediately handle it successfully.

The ordinary waggon is got ready, the machine attached to the shafts, the driver mounts to his seat, takes a pair of ordinary reins, and starts "old Gasso" by giving both reins a jerk, steers to right and left by pulling the corresponding rein, stops by pulling both reins, and backs by giving a further pull, and as a practical kerosene carburettor has been invented in addition, any wayside grocery store will do if "old Gasso" needs a tin of oil.

This means, of course, that the universal change over from horse to motor will be quite easy of accomplishment, and we expect, at no future date, to see the machine come into common use, and also see grooms, farriers, and all the labor necessary to the horse relegated to the industrial scrap-heap. Of course they won't starve, the boss will see to that; he needs plenty of unemployed, just as he needs wage-slaves, and so when strikes again occur he will have a bigger chance than ever of winning easily. What is to be done with the unemployed, anyhow? And right here scientific Socialism supplies the answer.

Organise, workmen of the world! Join your industrial union, the Workers' International Industrial Union. Use your ballot intelligently by voting for the Revolutionary Socialist, and so force the machines to labor for the good of humanity, and not for the enslavement of the many, and the benefit of the few! You cannot disassociate scientific industrial and political action; only by their use can the transition from Capitalism to Socialism be effected easily, speedily, and safely. So join up! the good time starts the precise moment you and your fellow-workers complete the necessary education and organisation, consequently, why delay?

A. S. P.

NEWS AND NOTES.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE.

It is with regret we have to record the death of the Treasurer of the Party, Com. Wegner. For some months our esteemed comrade had been ill, but his decease on Wednesday, 26th of September, came as a shock to all who were acquainted with him.

At the last meeting of the C. E., the following resolution was carried: "That this meeting desires herewith to place on record the deep sense of its loss by the death of Com. Wegner, and also to extend to his wife and family its sincerest sympathy in the loss of their husband and father."

Further—"We fully appreciate the splendid services rendered to the movement by Com. Wegner for many years, and although our ranks are weakened by his loss, we are strengthened by his noble example and unswerving integrity."

It was further resolved—"That a copy of this motion be sent to Mrs. Wegner."

It was also decided that the office of Treasurer having been rendered vacant by the decease of Com. Wegner, the General Secretary act in that capacity until the forthcoming annual election of officers.

Arrangements in connection with the debate with the S.L.P. on the Unity question have now been fixed up. An advertisement of details of same will be found elsewhere in this issue, and all members and sympathisers are urged to roll up and hear the matter threshed out.

With the approach of Xmas, the matter of Conference is again to the fore. It has been decided that all branches be circularised on the question of where the Conference shall be held this year. Branches will receive communications on this matter, in the course of a few days, and they are urged to get busy on the matter, and send in replies as soon as possible in order to get everything arranged in good time.

The next meeting of the C.E. will be held on October 13th.

A. S. REARDON, General Secretary.

YOU WANT SOCIALISM.

Because it will make the interest of each the interest of all.

Because it will provide conditions under which each may have the best of food.

Because it will enable each to have the best of raiment.

Because it will ensure each the best of dwellings.

Because it will guarantee to all the best of instruction.

Because it will provide amusement for all.

Because the children will have the opportunity of developing all their faculties, regardless of wealth.

Because humanity will cease the struggle against each other for wealth, but will wage their struggle against the force of nature for wealth.

"THE HARBOR."
By Ernest Poole.
Price 3/6. Posted 3/9.
From the Australian Socialist Party's Book Depot, 115 Goulburn St, Sydney.

SOCIALIST HALL
369 Pitt Street.

EVERY FRIDAY EVENING, DANCE.

LECTURE EVERY SUNDAY EVENING

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 7th, O. BLANC.
"The Coming Revolution."

TO UNATTACHED SUPPORTERS

Whosoever you are, if you believe in Scientific Socialism, you must recognise the need for organisation. Why not set a good example to the workers whom you come in contact with, and whom we know you try to educate, by joining up with the A.S.P.

If there is no BRANCH in your locality, you can become a MEMBER AT LARGE, and thus become a REAL LIVE WIRE.

For further information, drop a line to the General Secretary, A.S.P., 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Any branch desiring matter published under the above heading, should write clearly what is needed, and forward same to this office.

BROKEN HILL.

Socialist Hall, Sulphide St

All rebels making their way to the "Hill" will receive a welcome at the above address.

MELBOURNE BRANCH.

47 Victoria St., Melbourne

Library and Reading Room for members. Lectures held every Sunday Evening.

Economic Class every Wednesday evening. Visitors welcomed.

MT. LARCOM.

Secretary, Chas. Jacobsen, Mt. Larcom, via Gladston.

NEWTOWN BRANCH.

Hall: Hatte's Arcade, King St., Newtown.

Library for Members.

Business meeting held alternate Thursday evening.

SYDNEY BRANCH.

Hall: 369 Pitt St., City.

Library for members.

Lecture every Sunday evening.

Debating class held every Monday evening.

Business meeting every alternate Thursday evening.

Dance every Friday evening.

AUSTRALASIAN SOCIALIST PARTY LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

Ancient Society—Lewis H. Morgan; cloth, 6/-; posted, 6/3.

Britain for the British—R. Blatchford; paper cover, 6d.; posted, 7d.

Charles Darwin and Karl Marx—E. Aveling; paper, 3d.; posted, 4d.

Economic Discontent—Father T. J. Hagerty; paper, 2d.; posted, 3d.

Mutual Aid—P. Kropotkin; paper, 1/6; posted, 1/8.

New Socialism, The—R. R. La-Monte; paper, 6d.; posted, 7d.

Put up the Sword—Adela Pankhurst; paper, 2/6; posted, 2/9.

Positive School of Crimonology—Enrico Ferri; cloth, 2/-; posted, 2/2.

Principles of Scientific Socialism—Rev. Vaie; paper, 1/-; posted, 1/1.

Right to be Lazy—P. Lafargue; paper, 6d.; posted, 7d.

Socialism the Goal of Civilisation—paper, 2d.; posted, 3d.

Love's Coming of Age—E. Carpenter; cloth, 1/6; posted, 1/8.

IMPORTANT.

When ordering literature it is well to add the cost of registration (3d.). This is necessary to guarantee delivery.

Printed and Published by William Joseph Thomas, at 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney, for the Australian Socialist Party.

National Library of Australia http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page12248398